HAMBURG

FO 33/113: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 8, Hamburg, 6 March 1848

Political agitation in Hamburg; discontent and distrust in the existing system; need for a complete revision of the Bürgerschaft

The riots which occurred here on the evening of the 3rd Inst., and which I reported to your Lordship in my dispatch No. 7. of that date terminated without any serious consequences, and in themselves were of trivial nature; and from the precautions taken by the Government have not since been renewed; this disturbance was remotely connected with the efforts now making in this City to obtain a reform of existing abuses. Those Individuals who are at present at the head of the popular movement are not personally implicated in the disturbances which have occurred, though individually they are in a great measure responsible; for it was the Patriotic Society[1] who had directed public attention to the existing abuses, which has probably been heretofore unknown to the lower orders of the people, and they were consequently prepared for more than the usual portion of excitement in the outbreak of the French Revolution, of which a few demagogues did not hesitate to avail themselves.

The chief mover in the émeute[2] appears to have been a Doctor Werner, a briefless lawyer, who had already made himself notorious on previous occasions by the publication of libellous attacks directed against the Senate, for which he was tried and imprisoned. A person named Krausz was also concerned with Werner.

On the evening on the 3rd inst. it was known that the Patriotic Society was to meet, advantage was taken of this circumstance; a placard, printed in Altona and secretly distributed throughout Hamburgh, soon attracted the notice of the lower orders, who assembled in large numbers in and about the Patriotic Society's buildings, from there they proceeded to commit the excesses stated in my dispatch to Your Lordship, No 7 of the 3rd Inst.

[1] *Patriotische Gesellschaft*, founded in 1765; after the fire of 1842 it became the gathering place for the bourgeois opposition.

[2] French: riot.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Now with respect to the political Agitation which at present prevails in Hamburgh, it is very much in principle of a kin with the agitation which exists all over Germany. The great object of the people here is, to be freed from the bondage of the German Diet. The Citizens of Hamburgh desire to form their own laws regarding the internal affairs of the State, as regard their political constitution and Institutions, the laws regulating the Press as well as all others which concern their domestic affairs. Whilst they are by no means indifferent to the feeling in favor of German Nationality and German Unity – a feeling which is making rapid progress throughout all the States of Germany – they are violently opposed, in the present subdivided condition of Germany, to the interference of the Diet in any legislative measures which they conceive are essentially the attributes of National Independence, and which concern the Citizens of Hamburgh alone. This is one great first cause of the existing discontent, for so long as the Senate[3] is a virtual aristocracy (vacancies being filled up by their own body and not by the election of the Citizens,) little hope exists that any opposition to the fiat of Frankfort will ever be effectually ventured.

But the Citizens desire also other reforms than the mere right to elect their Senators. The whole constitution[4] of the state is trammelled by a variety of Bureaus, called here Colleges,[5] originally intended to form the guarantee of the Citizens against the encroachments of the Senate, which from a variety of causes have ceased to be effective. The Senate has contrived in one way or the other to render those Colleges perfectly useless, and they have fallen into general contempt, their abolition is one object of the present movement, and there appears now little doubt that these Colleges will be the first propitiation to the demands of the Agitators.

But the constitution of the Commonality or Burgherschaft itself is in its principle highly objectionable to the general body of citizens. The only persons who are admissible to vote at the Burgherschaft, or even to be present at its proceedings, are the owners of House property within the walls of Hamburgh; persons who hold a certain amount of property hypothecated in such houses, and officers of the National Guard of, and above the rank of Captain.[6] These are the

[3] The Senate or Council (*Rat*) was the highest governmental authority in Hamburg; it consisted of thirty-six merchants and lawyers.

[4] The constitution of 1712.

[5] The three colleges were the College of the Hundred and Eighty, College of the Sixty, and the College of the Aldermen *(Oberalten)*. As independent representatives of the *Bürgerschaft* (commonality) they were a control authority and pre-advisory body for the Senate's applications.

[6] In addition to those mentioned, the *Älterleute* of the guilds were also members of the *Bürgerschaft*.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

persons who form the legislative Corps of Hamburg, in conjunction with the Senate and the Colleges I before mentioned. No merchant, lawyer, or other inhabitant of Hamburgh, not possessing one of the before named qualifications, has any voice whatever in the legislation. He may pay 100 times the amount of money, in direct taxes, to what the smaller Householder does, and yet he is not empowered to make his opinions or desires known, nor can any person take part in the Burgherschaft however large his landed or house property may be, unless it be situated within the walls of the City.

During the last twenty years the increase of House property without the Walls, but still on Hamburgh territory has been enormous. There is an instance of one family possessing house property to the extent of thirty five Houses within five minutes walk of the City Gates, the yearly value of which will not be less than Five thousand pounds, who have nevertheless no vote by right of that property at the Burgerschaft, and yet they are compelled to submit to every species of taxation consented to, or imposed upon them by persons owning perhaps a single House each, within the Walls.

The old City of Hamburgh is surrounded by valuable property, manufactories, public works, and dwellings, all of which are in the same predicament, and one of the charges alleged by their owners against the present system, is the retention of exorbitant Tolls levied after night fall at the Gates of the City, with the object of compelling people to reside within the Walls, and thus keep up the rents of those dwellings whose owners resist the abolition of the tolls in question.

This class legislation is one of the great inducements for parties, having now no voice in the enactment of Laws, desiring to alter the principle upon which the suffrage is based. They are very cordially seconded by the numerous Inhabitants of the City itself, who are now disqualified from participating in the proceedings of the Burgherschaft. The latter feel the effect of their disqualification in other ways, in the retention of the Guilds and patent privileges with which Hamburgh abounds, and by which heavy taxes are imposed upon them for the benefit of particular classes. These Guilds not only limit the number of Bakers, Butchers, and almost every class of tradesmen with whom the Inhabitant comes into daily connection, but also all those classes who are connected with the building of Houses, and even with the construction of coffins, and the purveyance of funerals. No House can be built and rendered habitable at Hamburgh without the assistance of sixteen different classes of privileged tradespeople; even the general foreign Commerce of Hamburgh is trammelled in many instances, and the Coal and Corn trades especially, by the privileges enjoyed by particular bodies within the Walls.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

These subjects have all contributed to create discontent and mistrust in the existing system, and it appears now to be the desire of the Citizens to make a complete revision of the Burgerschaft, and of the principle upon which it now exercises its functions. It appears to be desired that a body shall be elected by the vote of every citizen of Hamburgh with power to exercise an effectual control over the Senate or executive Government; to oppose lavish expenditure and remedy those abuses in the existing laws which are the inheritance from older times. It is proposed to give every Citizen a suffrage in the Election for such a Body whose direct taxes amount to a certain sum annually, and it is proposed either to vest in that elected Body the right of filling up vacancies in the Senate; or, otherwise delegating that duty to the general body of Electors, as is the case in the United States of America with regard to the Election of the President.

Such are the desires, without entering more into detail, which can be at present collected from public and private sources. These desires must before long assume a distinct shape, as the Burgherschaft is to be held in a few days,[7] in which the Senate has promised to come forward with the proposal of a Committee to be formed from their own body and from the Burgherschaft, with a view to enter into the whole question. Efforts may be made to govern the selection from the Burgherschaft but if so, the result will not be satisfactory to the Public; on the contrary, any endeavour of that kind would only encrease the mistrust with which the Senate is already regarded by a large portion of the Inhabitants. Some of the most distinguished Lawyers of Hamburgh have been prominent in agitating the question, and unless those individuals form part of the proposed Committee, the present system of Agitation is much more likely to be encreased and be productive of serious consequences.

FO 33/113: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 17, Hamburg, 24 March 1848

Establishment of provisional government in Schleswig-Holstein

No doubt Your Lordship has been already informed by Sir Henry Wynn of the change of Ministry at Copenhagen. The persons now in power there are considered to be entirely devoted to the Danish party and opposed to the principles maintained by the German Duchies.[8]

[7] The session was fixed for 13 March 1848.

[8] The formation of a new government under A.W. Moltke on 21–22 March 1848 marked the end of absolute monarchy in Denmark. The 'Ejder-Danes', Denmark's liberal-nationalist party, which was most prominently represented in the new cabinet by Orla Lehmann, wished to see the river Eider as the border of a homogenous Danish state. The connection

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

In consequence of this change of Ministers great excitement prevails throughout Holstein; even for some days past every description of fire arms and defensive weapons has been openly purchased in this Town for Holstein.

By authentic accounts received from Kiel this afternoon I learn that a Provisional Government was constituted there at 2 o'clock this morning the members of which are: Prince Frederick Prince of Sleswick-Holstein the late Staathalter [sic] of the Duchies, Beseler an advocate and a leading man of the popular party, Count von Reventlow-Preetz, an influential Holstein Nobleman. Mr T. Schmidt a respectable merchant of Kiel and Advocate Bremer of Flensburg.

This provisional Government has issued a Proclamation of which original and translation are enclosed.[9]

By a letter which has been received in Altona by the Directors of the Kiel Railway it appears that the Provisional Government has required the Director[10] at Kiel to arrange for the transport of troops and of the many volunteers to Rendsburg to assist in maintaining it against the Danes who it is expected will be disembarked in the neighbourhood and further to expedite the conveyance of troops and ammunition from the adjacent country to that fortress.

A courier has passed through this city from Kiel going to the Duke of Augustenburg[11] who is now at Berlin with dispatches from the Provisional Government to inform him of these events and this courier on his way through Holstein called upon the people to join the countrymen in resisting the invasion from Denmark.

The Provisional Government has also departed for Rendsburg.

The Garrisons at Kiel, Altona and the neighbouring towns have declared for the Provisional Government and Prince Frederick at the head of Jäger Regiment from Kiel has entered Rendsburg the garrison of which has offered him no opposition but on the contrary evinced a disposition to take the popular side.

A large sum of money lying in the Treasury at Rendsburg has fallen into the hands of the Provisional Government.

A meeting was held this afternoon at Altona at which at least 3000 persons were present, when the President Count Reventlow-Criminil, brother to the late Minister for Foreign Affairs at Copenhagen, and the local Authorities declared for the Provisional Government, stating that

between the Kingdom of Denmark and the Duchy of Schleswig was to be secured by a joint constitution. This called Schleswig's traditional unity with the Duchy of Holstein into question. Holstein was connected to Denmark by personal union but unlike Schleswig belonged to the German Confederation.

[9] Enclosure (translation only): Proclamation of the provisional government for Schleswig-Holstein, 24 March 1848.

[10] Ernst Dietz.

[11] Christian August was a pretender to the succession in Schleswig-Holstein.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

they did so, because that Government had expressed a determination to maintain the rights of the Country and those of their Duke; (the King of Denmark).

Altona is at this moment illuminated and the greatest joy and satisfaction are evinced in that Town and Hamburgh.

It is needless for me to state to Your Lordship that those two important Duchies are now virtually separated from the Kingdom of Denmark, and in the present political condition of Germany no Sovereign, be he who he may, would venture to oppose the popular will.

P.S. Prince Frederick whom I have named to Your Lordship as the Head of the Provisional Government of Sleswick-Holstein is brother to the Duke of Augustenburg.

FO 33/113: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 64, Hamburg, 10 June 1848

Disturbances in Hamburg; demonstrations against the 'Torsperre'

For several days past there have been rumours of the intention of the working classes to destroy the Stein Gate of this city and the Altona Gate. It appears that these rumours were not attended to by the Hamburgh authorities. However last evening some slight disturbance took place at the Thalia, a minor Theatre, under the pretext of a manifestation of discontent against one of the actors. The performance was interrupted, and the rioters proceeded to the Stein Gate, where they were joined by a large concourse of people, which evidently proves that their movements were concerted. They drove the National Guard on duty, as well as the collectors of the excise,[12] from their posts, took possession of the buildings at the Gate, and set fire to them. It was nearly two hours before a sufficient force of National Guards could be collected together, and when they did arrive, the buildings were reduced to ashes, and the guards were received with derisive cheers by the populace.

The avowed object of these proceedings was to obtain the abolition of the 'Thorsperre',[13] which certainly is very oppressive on the working classes.

It is feared that renewed attacks will be made on the other Gates tonight. The Authorities are however prepared, and no doubt they will be able to resist fresh outrages.

[12] The excise was an indirect consumer tax levied on all goods imported to Hamburg.

[13] *Torsperre*, name given to the charge for passing through the seven gates to the suburbs after dark. It was abolished in 1860.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

I should consider this disturbance not, in itself, of so much importance were it not for the extreme spirit of discontent prevalent amongst the working classes of this City, who are directed and governed by clubs, headed by turbulent and republican young lawyers, who are supposed to be in communication with the Clubs of the working classes in Berlin.

It is but justice to observe that the Senate of Hamburgh have made great sacrifices, and done all in their power to provide employment for the laboring poor, but whether they will be able to maintain order in this large and populous City with the military means now at their command which are solely the National Guard, their regular troops having joined the confederate army,[14] is in my opinion very problematical.

FO 33/113: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 97, Hamburg, 12 September 1848

State of affairs in the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein; violence of the democratic party

The various rumours and accounts from the Duchies are so contradictory that it is with difficulty I can get at the truth.

Since the withdrawal of Count Moltke from the Presidency of the new Provisional Government[15] and his return to Copenhagen matters have assumed a more tranquil appearance, and the rancorous opposition to the armistice does not seem to be so great as it was a few days since.

The decided manner which Prussia has adopted in carrying out the spirit of the Convention,[16] and the disunion prevailing in the Parliament at Frankfort[17] have caused great consternation amongst the democratic party in the Duchies. But, notwithstanding, in the conversations which I have had with many of the Nobility and Gentry of the Duchies they have expressed the greatest fears that the violent democratic party, of which Mr. M.T. Schmidt, who is Her Majesty's Vice Consul at Kiel is considered the leader, will throw off all disguise and proclaim a Republic.

[14] Army of the German Confederation in Schleswig-Holstein.

[15] The five-man governmental commission, with members from both Denmark and Prussia, was agreed upon in the Armistice of Malmö and took office on 22 October 1848.

[16] In the Armistice of Malmö of 26 August 1848 between Denmark and Prussia it was agreed to suspend hostilities for seven months. This would be automatically extended if neither party revoked the agreement up to a month before it was due to run out. The agreement repealed all laws passed by the provisional government for Schleswig-Holstein since March 1848.

[17] Cf. n. 39 in Frankfurt section.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

There is however a very powerful and influential party of the Nobility, large Agriculturists and Farmers in Schleswig and Holstein, who would gladly see the political state of those countries restored to what it was before the commencement of hostilities, and they deeply deplore the line of conduct pursued by the Duke of Augustenburg and the Provisional Government,[18] amongst whom there is great disunion. Even Prince Frederick, the Duke's brother, who commanded the Schleswig Holstein troops has withdrawn from the Provisional Government, assigning as his reason his being deprived of the command of the troops belonging to the Duchies.

So late as the 7th of this month, one instance was afforded of the violence of the democratic party at a large assembly of people who met at Altona, where the most furious and outrageous language was used, and where an Individual named Kriege, a Deputy from the Berlin Democratic Union, urged upon the meeting the necessity of the Duchies at once proclaiming a Republic.

There does not exist a doubt, my Lord, but that the political and social state of this part of Germany is threatened with great danger, and that unless the progress of the Democrats be interrupted and some degree of Order restored an outbreak will take place that may lead to consequences as awful as those that followed that period of the French Revolution immediately subsequent to 1793. An impression prevails amongst well informed persons that we are on the eve of important events at Berlin, and that a Reaction is sure to take place there within a few weeks. These rumours cause just alarm amongst the Commercial Body of this City, and at the same time excite the democratic party to act with more promptitude in their efforts to gain their ends.

FO 33/114: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 108, Hamburg, 10 October 1848

Feelings of the people of Schleswig and Holstein about British proposals for settlement of the Schleswig-Holstein question

In obedience to Your Lordship's instructions, I have used my best endeavors to ascertain what is supposed generally to be the feelings of the people in Holstein and Schleswig as to the two alternatives enclosed in Your Lordship's dispatch, confidential, No. 33 of the 21st ulto., and, whilst observing every caution to avoid it being supposed that my enquiries were for any official purpose, I have

[18] Cf. pp. 188–189.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

obtained information collected from persons of different ranks and political opinions in the Duchies, as to which of the above mentioned alternatives for a final arrangement of the Holstein controversy the people of Schleswig are likely to prefer; and the result of my enquiries are as follows.

The first plan is that of dividing the Duchy into two parts with reference to the German or Danish Nationality of its Inhabitants, the Southern and German part being to be called the Southern Duchy, the Northern or Danish part being to be called the Northern Duchy, in which case the King would become a member of the German Confederation in his capacity of Duke of Southern Schleswig, as well as in his capacity of Duke of Holstein; and Southern Schleswig would, like Holstein, form part of the Territory of the German Confederation, and the sovereignty of Southern Schleswig would follow the same Line of succession as the sovereignty of Holstein; on the other hand Northern Schleswig would be attached by its Law of succession to the Crown of Denmark, and the sovereignty of that Duchy would be inseparably united with the Danish Crown.

In regard to this plan I beg leave to remark to Your Lordship, that though a great majority of German politicians would prefer it to the second alternative, yet the people of the Duchies think otherwise. Experience has shown these German politicians that the rural population of the North of Schleswig is essentially Danish; and therefore the German party would be very willing to abandon a population averse to Germany, in order, as they think, to save her honor, by aggrandising Holstein with the addition to it of a portion of so fine a Province. But as to the people of the Duchies, and their motives for preferring the second alternative, it appears to me, that the Events of the last summer, have shown, to a considerable number of them, who were flattered by the idea of dictating Peace to Denmark, that the question between that Country and the Duchies would become a European one; and this circumstance has much moderated their views as to the controversy; and has led them to look less unfavourable towards the Danish power; and therefore, considering this altered state of feeling, should no revolutionary event take place in these parts to agitate the public mind before the ensuing Spring, it seems probable that the people of Schleswig and Holstein would prefer seeing the two Duchies united, without Schleswig becoming a part of Germany, in conformity with the proposals in the second alternative, to seeing it divided, as the first alternative supposes; and for the following reasons.

1st The Anti-Danish movement had its origin in the attachment of the people of the Duchies to their history and traditional rights. They desired to defend the independence, and the Union of the two Duchies

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

against the encroachments of the Danish party; and though the demagogues well knew what they were about, yet, the great majority of the people desired but to preserve the Status quo against Danish aggression; and consequently the return of tranquillity will allay the animosity towards Denmark, which in ordinary times is foreign to the feelings of the Inhabitants. It is well known that Schleswig never formed part of the German Empire, and that the people do not desire that it should be incorporated with Germany. As proofs of this, the Elections for the Frankfort Parliament may be adduced; they were made by a minority ridiculously small; at Flensburg, a German Town surrounded by a population more German than Danish, of 30,000 Inhabitants, 550 votes sent a Deputy[19] to the Frankfort Assembly; and Mr. Bunsen himself had only 1500 votes, in a district containing 40,000 Inhabitants who do not speak Danish. The great Bailiwick of Hadersleben, in the North of Schleswig, is represented by a Jena Professor,[20] who was scarcely in appearance elected. These facts show that the Population generally are willing to return to the Status quo ante under proper guarantees.

2ndly Should the second alternative be acted upon, Schleswig would be secured against the incorporation with Denmark by a Union with Holstein, cemented by Provincial States, in which the Representatives of the two Duchies would be assembled together, and by the guaranty of a great European Power. In this way the legislation and administration for the Duchies would be one and the same and, though even with this plan there would be great difficulties, Your Lordship may not deem them insurmountable.

3rdly Schleswig has never desired to be admitted into the German Confederation. In 1814, the people desired a Schleswig Holstein constitution,[21] but even the order of Knights[22] did not desire that Frederick the VI should make Schleswig a part of Germany. The people wished to remain as they were, and neither to be confounded with the North, nor with the South. Even many influential persons in this Duchy, who were formerly inclined to Germany, since they observed the tendency to centralisation shewn there, and the alterations in the Commercial and Customs Laws with which the South of Germany now threatens the North,[23] have altered their

[19] Carl Philipp Francke.

[20] Andreas Michelsen.

[21] The petitions for a constitution in Schleswig to which Hodges refers date from the winter of 1816–1817.

[22] *Ritterschaft*, politically and socially privileged nobility in the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.

[23] Hodges is referring to the movement for protective tariffs in Southern Germany.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

opinions in favor of a Schleswig Nationality. Notwithstanding that after the publication of the Letter Patent by Christian VIII,[24] the Provincial States demanded that Schleswig should enter into the German confederation, Yet this was rather intended as an Anti-Danish demonstration, than as a proposition with which they were in earnest. With the exception of the clubs in the Towns, which are urged on by the violent democrats, the people of Schleswig desire but guarantees against the Danish and German parties. They do not like the provocations of the violent Danish party; but they detest the German Free corps and a Customs Union with Prussia; in short, they desire to be united with Holstein without being separated from Denmark.

4thly Thus the Schleswigers attached to their mixed Nationality and the Administration to which they are accustomed, would consider every division of their Country as the greatest disaster that could befall them – as a death blow to their rights. Though there have been unfortunately divisions and subdivisions of their country, but too well known, yet the most ancient privilege of the Duchy is that it shall not be divided;[25] and since the Union of the Gottorp part with it, (1711), and by the treaties of 1767, and 1773, this right has been strengthened in validity.[26]

5thly An equitable division, such as should put an end to all controversy, would be considered quite impracticable in both Duchies. There is no line of demarcation between the two Nationalities, they mingle almost imperceptibly; the Danish Inhabitants claim a Danish nationality where the German Inhabitants will be German by virtue of their German patois: The towns are all German merely from antipathy to Denmark. Of the 370,000 Inhabitants of Schleswig,

The German language prevails
among 180,000,
The Frison language [prevails among] 25,000,
The Danish language [prevails among] 110,000,
and for the remaining 55,000
the two languages are so blended that all demarcation would be impossible. Besides this want of distinctive nationality, even the Danish

[24] Public letter of 8 July 1846 to his subjects, in which Christian VIII upheld the principle of undivided succession in the area ruled by the Danish royal house.

[25] Ripen Treaty of 1460, which guaranteed the indivisibility of the Duchies Schleswig and Holstein.

[26] Until the Nordic War both lines of the House of Oldenburg ruled in the Duchies, that of the Danish Kings and that of the Dukes of Gottorp. In 1721, not in 1711 as Hodges states, the Gottorps lost their rights in Schleswig. In the Copenhagen Treaty of 22 April 1767 and in the Treaty of Zarskoje Selo of 1 June 1773, the Dukes of Gottorp gave up their rights in Holstein following a territorial exchange.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

village may have German sympathies, whilst the German District does not desire entire Germanisation; in reality, all wish to remain, as they are, Inhabitants of an independent Duchy, undivided, and free from continual aggression.

6thly If the above reasons be correct, a Division would be a lasting source of recriminations and disputes. Every Holsteiner would consider himself deeply humiliated and afflicted by losing the half of a fine Duchy, which for Centuries has been united to Holstein, as to a State one, and indivisible. At the first opportunity, in case of a Division, every Holsteiner would take up arms to reconquer Hadersleben and Tonningen, and the other parts divided from the rest of the Duchies. But granted that the Inhabitants of the Northern districts of Schleswig prefer Denmark to the Frankfort Government, which they would, yet they would prefer to both, an equitable union with Holstein, whilst, on the other hand, the people of Holstein would pretend that the Division in question had been brought about by force, or other unfair means.

7thly It seems therefore certain that Schleswig would gladly accept a constitution which, whilst guarantying its particular independence against both Denmark and Germany, would secure to the two Nationalities of its Inhabitants, their hereditary rights, and though the Holsteiners would ask more than this, still they would end by being satisfied on finding Schleswig essentially united to Holstein, and to a certain degree independent of Denmark.

But after thus going through the reasons in favor of the second alternative, I should beg particularly to call Your Lordship's attention to the fact, that I feel persuaded, from the information I have received, that no one in the Duchies will consider the Schleswig-Holstein question finally settled, until the right of succession be definitively arranged. If there were male heirs to the Crown of Denmark the controversy might be adjourned, but under the present relations endless disputes and causes of contention must arise. It is well known that Denmark will never recognize the rights of the Agnates in regard to Schleswig, and even should peace be re-established for the moment, the Danish monarchy would be continually encumbered with the question, until guarantees in regard to the succession had been given. Though it seems to be incontestable that the King of Denmark has the right to insist on the connection of Schleswig, at least as Lord of an Ancient Fief, and allowing it its rights and privileges, yet it would be almost impossible to convince the Duchies of this truth, and therefore if Holstein should remain connected with Denmark and Schleswig, it is necessary that a sincere and frank reconciliation should take place with Denmark; and my Informants appear, therefore, to think, that the only way to surmount the difficulties that beset this question on every side, would be to nominate a male heir of the House of Oldenburg to

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

the succession; for it is the Lex Regia, which is the chief source of all contention.[27]

FO 33/114: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 120, Hamburg, 2 December 1848

Elections to the constituent assembly; weight of taxes; reasons for the success of democratic candidates

The district Elections for the Constituent Assembly of this State, referred to in my dispatch No 85 of the 1st September last having now, all but 1, been brought to a close, and generally in favor of the Democratic Members, I conceive that it may be interesting to Your Lordship if I transmit a short statement of the leading causes that, in conjunction with the excited state of the Public Mind in regard to German Politics, have enabled the popular party to succeed so far in their measures towards the important changes in the Government and constitution of Hamburg as are now contemplated.

Previous to, and up to the time of the Great Fire in Hamburg, in 1842,[28] the Inhabitants had not found it difficult to meet the Taxes imposed on them, and, proud of their wealth and the importance of their Commercial City were well satisfied with their Government. But the Fire led to a great change in the state of affairs. By this conflagration a very large number of valuable Buildings and Houses were destroyed, within the Walls, and now the Properties of such Buildings within the Walls as were not destroyed, were, according to law,[29] bound to contribute pro rata to reconstruct the buildings burned down; on the same principle as is acted on in Mutual Insurance Companies, but, as to do this would have ruined many of the Proprietors thus liable, and their Mortgagees, in order to escape a part of their legal obligations the Burgherschaft,[30] which Assembly is composed only of the Owners of Houses, situated within the Walls, in conjunction with the Senate passed a Law,[31] changing the burden of such re-construction upon the whole state. Accordingly a Loan, of about 3 Million sterling, was contracted for, and the Interest provided by an Income Tax, by a slight increase of the Import duty, and an addition to

[27] In Denmark, and in the view of the Danish nationalist party also in Schleswig, the *Lex Regia* of 1665 applied, by which, if the direct male line died out, the female line had a right to the throne. In Holstein, on the other hand, male succession applied while any male members of the ruling house still survived. As Frederik VII had no children the guaranteed indivisibility of the two Duchies, which had been in force since 1460, was in doubt.

[28] Hamburg Fire of 5–8 May 1842, in which about one fifth of the city was destroyed.

[29] *General-Feuer-Kassen-Ordnung* of 3 May 1833.

[30] For *Bürgerschaft* cf. pp. 186–187.

[31] *Rath- und Bürger-Schluß* of 2 July 1842.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

sundry old Taxes, all of which, it was declared, should be levied upon the whole of the Inhabitants. It is possible that had the Government at that time extended the legislative functions to all rate-payers, the present sweeping measures would not have been called for, but as the money raised by loan came into circulation and created an appearance of more than temporary prosperity, and though the expenditure for Public works, sewers, and other improvements, was carried on in a very liberal manner, still, all were satisfied; whilst deceived by the seeming abundance of money, speculations for building, and the purchase of building ground, were largely engaged in by numbers who had not sufficient funds to carry through their Undertakings, as became evident in the end. The new Buildings and Houses were rebuilt on a scale larger and more expensive than the old ones, whilst, owing to the apparent prosperity, and the demand for Premises after the Fire, Rents rose quite in proportion to the Capital laid out, and further encouraged the rage for building which prevailed; and thus all went on prosperously, until toward the middle of last year, (1847,) when, owing to the great fall in the prices of colonial and other goods that took place throughout Europe, in that year, coupled with circumstances that many Speculators and Capitalists had locked up their funds in Rail roads and such-like investments, promising high interest, money became very scarce, and the pressure of the Times began to be severely felt by the Inhabitants of Hamburgh, and Houses and shops were offered at rents considerably under the proper return for the Capitals they had cost to build. Thus matters went on, although frequent complaints were now heard about the extravagance of the Government in making improvements, and the weight of the Taxes, until the commencement of this year, when, as mentioned in my dispatch No 4 of the 3rd of March last, the calls for Reform became louder; but still though the Societies for Reform, established during the previous months, had given uneasiness to the Senate, they had not been very violent in their proceedings. But after the Revolution in France, of February, other Clubs began to be formed here, and the events that followed that Revolution in Germany, by much exciting the Public mind, gave such an impetus to their proceedings, that the Senate could not help feeling that Reform could not long be delayed. A Committee[32] was now appointed with a view to correct some abuses in the Government, and improve the Constitution, as mentioned in my dispatch, No 15 of the 13th March last, but it

[32] The commission (*Reformdeputation*), consisting of twenty members including five senators, was set up on 13 March 1848 by a resolution of the *Bürgerschaft*. It was commissioned to present a press law within four weeks and suggestions for the reform of the constitution within six months.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

was restricted in opposition to the opinions of many enlightened Citizens, to Members of the Burgherschaft and Senate, and soon all confidence in it was lost, owing to its exclusive composition. Amidst much agitation amongst the Public as to local affairs, and resistance to their wishes on the part of the Burgherschaft and Senate, the Elections for Frankfort were taken, by Universal suffrage, and 3 Members[33] were returned, as mentioned in my dispatch, No 42 of the 23rd April last, by the Conservative Party; in consequence, as it would seem, of the indifference of the middle and lower classes to the novel and remote Assembly at Frankfurt, and the exertions of the Commercial Body to return the Gentlemen they had proposed; however, the result of these Elections gave to the Conservatives great confidence in their power and influence over the votes of their fellow Citizens generally. But in the mean time numerous Clubs had been founded, and the Speeches of the Reformers and Democrats at their meetings, and the exertions of an unrestrained Press, had so worked upon the Public mind, that there arose a determination on the part of the People generally to obtain Reform, and I had the honor of transmitting to Your Lordship, in my dispatches Nos 79 and 81, of the 15th and 18th of August last, an account of the proceedings in this spirit, which resulted in the Concession by the Senate and Burgherschaft of a Constituent Assembly, on the plan mentioned in my dispatch No 4, first above referred to.[34] There had been two proposals made as to this Constituent Assembly, the one was, that the Senate and Burgherschaft should have the right of adopting, or rejecting the Constitution to be framed by the new assembly; the other, that the Constitution, which should be so framed, should become Law without the assent of the Senate and Burgherschaft, but at the same time it prescribed, that an oath should be taken by each of the newly elected Members, to the effect that he would abstain from all interference with the system of legislation and Government, as at present established, until the new Constitution should be formed and agreed upon. The Senate decided for the latter plan,[35] either intimidated by the violence of the Public, or in the hope, recollecting the Conservative returns for Frankfort, that they would be of a like character for the proposed Assembly. But on the contrary, the Elections, which have been also universal suffrage,

[33] Those elected as deputies for the Frankfurt National Assembly were Edgar Daniel Roß, Johann Gustav Heckscher and Ernst Merck. The elections took place on 18–20 April 1848.

[34] The constituent assembly, called for at a meeting of Hamburg's political associations on 17 August 1848, was approved by the Senate on 7 September. After universal and equal elections it convened on 14 December and in February 1849 started the consultations on the constitution.

[35] Resolution of the Senate and the *Bürgerschaft* of 7 September 1848.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

every male person of 18 years and upwards being entitled to vote, have turned out very much in favor of the Democratic Party.

It would be in vain, at present, to speculate, as to how parties may be divided, or on the measures to be proposed in the New Assembly. The so-called Democrats will no doubt have a very considerable majority in the meeting, but amongst that majority there will be many persons of great ability, deeply interested in the mercantile prosperity and political independence of this State; but, however, it appears, that at least two thirds of the Assembly are of opinion, that the system of Government must be entirely changed; and, that the present Senate must be abolished, and a simpler and less expensive form of Government, such as that of Switzerland, established in its place.[36]

It appears however that a serious question is likely to arise as to the Oath, before mentioned, prescribed to be taken by each Member preliminarily. It is the determination, I believe, of the greater number of the Assembly to refuse to take it, and this refusal might lead to serious consequences and endanger the peace and security of the City; although I have heard, from a quarter on which I can place some reliance, that a compromise will be effected with the Senate, and thus all conflict will be avoided.

Your Lordship will easily judge of the state of extreme excitement which the prospect of changes so great and sudden must produce upon the different classes of the population of this State. No doubt such changes will bear hardly upon Individuals, but from all that I can learn, from impartial and sound-thinking men, whom I have consulted, I am led to believe that the Commercial and political prosperity of Hamburgh is more likely to be promoted, than diminished, by the proposed changes when once fairly carried into effect.

It is true, that some improper and disreputable persons have been elected for the new Assembly, but they are few in number, and must, amongst a Body of which most of the members possess great good sense and talent, have but little weight, or consideration there.

The Assembly, it is expected will meet in the middle of this Month, a suitable building[37] is now in preparation for their reception and I shall not fail to make Your Lordship acquainted with their legislative proceedings.

[36] This was modelled on the liberal principles, the concept of balanced powers, and the two-chamber system of the Geneva constitution of 1847, as well as the federal constitution of the Swiss Confederation of September 1848.

[37] Building of the *Patriotische Gesellschaft* at the *Trostbrücke*.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

FO 33/118: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 11, Hamburg, 2 February 1849

Probable influence of change in British Navigation Laws on Northern Germany's future commercial policy; discussion of the systems of protective taxes and free trade

Should the alterations in the Navigation Laws proposed by Her Majesty's Government be approved of by Parliament in this Session, much advantage would accrue to the whole commercial community, but to none more than to the Northern States of Germany.[38]

Presuming, therefore, that it would be acceptable to Your Lordship to be informed of the judgement of well-informed persons, with reference to the influence these alterations ought to exercise on the future commercial Policy of Germany, I have endeavored to collect information on the subject, and have now the honor to communicate what follows, as the result.

Whatever political form the Germanic Confederation may eventually assume, there can be no doubt that a much closer Union will take place than has existed hitherto, for the purpose of introducing uniformity in commercial Laws, weights, measures, postal arrangements, coin &, into Germany, but these only so far as they may contribute to the prosperity of Germany, will affect the interest of other Nations; with the exception, as to the Policy a confederated Germany may adopt respecting the burdens, or restrictions to be imposed upon Foreign Trade. There is however little doubt that, let the political results that will ensue from the present deliberations of the Frankfort Assembly, be as they may, the Zoll Verein[39] will be extended so as to embrace the whole of those North German States not before comprised within it; indeed, it is even probable, that the Austro-Germanic Provinces may become a member of this Union.

The Principle, which it is professed shall regulate the imposition of duties by the Zollverein, is essentially protective, for although heavy duties were levied upon some articles for fiscal purpose only, yet, the enormous duties levied on other articles for protective, or prohibitive purpose gave the tone to the general system, and from this it was found inconvenient to depart. The prevailing opinion throughout the Zollverein, is that protection affords, indirectly, the means of providing labor for the Poor; and this is the constant argument of the Protectionists, in whose ranks are the Manufacturers, the wine growers, and others, and they are re-echoed by many on Public grounds. The Prince of Prussia,[40] in 1846, and other Members

[38] The protective British Navigation Acts were repealed in 1849.
[39] Customs Union of 1834.
[40] Wilhelm.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

of the House of Hohenzollern, the late Prince Lichnowksy, and a great majority of the former Prussian Upper House, have publicly declared for this principle. Even the Prince of Leiningen, liberal and enlightened as he is, desires the system of protection, and scarcely one fifth of the Inhabitants of Germany wish for a moderate Tariff. The Baltic Provinces, as well as Ports, would no doubt oppose exorbitant duties, and the Inhabitants of Hanover, Oldenburg, the Duchies of Mecklenburg, Holstein, Lauenburg, and Hamburg, having been accustomed to low duties, and possessing few manufactories would naturally be against the high duties now levied within the Zoll Verein, still, the class of persons in those states averse to the protective system may be too much interested in the question of a 'one united Germany', strenuously to oppose that system, should they think that by so doing they might prejudice their political desideratum. Hamburg will certainly warmly combat against the protective system, as it will too deeply wound her commercial interests; but Lübeck will not aid her much in the contest, and in Bremen 'protection' is the cry of the Majority. This difference of interests, between Hamburg and Bremen, may be accounted for, because Hamburg has a large Trade in the importation of British, French, and German, Manufactures and under a restriction system would lose much of this commerce, and be exposed to competition abroad with that surplus of British manufactures which now finds its way through Hamburg to all parts of the North of Europe; whilst Bremen, on the contrary, traffics far less, in proportion, in manufactures and much more in raw materials, and Transatlantic produce; Her ships take out emigrants to America, and bring home American cotton and Tobacco; consequently high duties on Foreign Manufactures would be less injurious to Bremen than to Hamburg. In Bremen there is a warm sympathy for the United States of America, and a desire to extend her Trade with them rather than with England, and this feeling has been encouraged to a great extent by Mr. Duckwitz, the present Minister of Trade at Frankfort, and formerly a Senator of Bremen. On the part of Her Majesty's Government, any opposition at present to a junction of the Germanic States as one General Customs' League would be in vain. But the representations of Her Majesty's Government earnestly enforced, not alone in Frankfort, but also separately to the Government of each State might greatly assist the efforts of the friends of Free Trade. Such representations appear to be the most practicable means which Her Majesty's Government could employ for the promotion of British Trade with Germany. Although the Aristocracy, the owners of the Soil, and Farmers may be gained over to the cause of Free Trade, yet, all their efforts will be of no avail; for the manufacturers and other protectionists are not to be convinced by argument,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

though they are very likely to be influenced by the fear of English retaliation.

However, it might be difficult to convince a German Government of the possibility of our departing from Free Trade principles as to corn; although a hint, that a duty in England of 1s 0d the Quarter might be treated at first with ridicule, yet, a German Government might fear such retaliation, if it were represented to them that even the English manufacturers would approve of them, in this particular instance. It is by no means clear that for the purpose of compelling a particular country to adopt friendly principles of commerce, that the British manufacturers would not become protectionists.

With the Ports of Great Britain open to all, and Grain arriving from all sides England has become partly independent as to the supplies of any particular Country. By imposing a duty of 1s 0d. a quarter on German corn, the prices in England would be but little increased, whilst the prices of grain in Germany, depending on the English demand, would fall ruinously low. Before the late alteration in the English corn Laws,[41] corn was kept at a high price by those Laws, but now any duty levied exclusively against German grain would be intolerable for Germany. And I beg leave to state to Your Lordship, that I believe that no Government in the North of Germany would venture to brave the result of such a proceeding on the part of England, as the rural population from Memel to Emden, and from the Bohemian frontiers to the North Sea, would too painfully feel its effects.

FO 33/118: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 52, Hamburg, 8 June 1849

Difficulties preventing implementation of an armistice for Schleswig-Holstein; fear of Prussian influence in the Duchies; need for foreign mediation

As the approaching cessation of hostilities, by means of an Armistice, and the conclusion of a Peace, between the contending powers within the Duchies of Schleswig Holstein draws near,[42] public opinion there more openly manifests discontent with the conditions on which it is supposed they will be arranged, and from all I see and hear I am convinced, should an armistice be agreed upon and signed by the contracting parties, still, that it will be impossible that it can become

[41] The protective Corn Laws of 1815 and 1828 were repealed in 1846.
[42] For the armistice of 10 July 1849 cf. n. 107 in Frankfurt section.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

effective without an armed intervention of one or more of the neutral powers.

It is also very doubtful, were the Prussian Troops, now within the Duchies and part of the Confederate Army, ordered by their own Government to cooperate to carry the requisite measures into execution, whether they would be disposed implicitly to obey their orders. I do not doubt the loyalty and good faith of the Prussian Commander in Chief, General Prittwitz, but my fears are caused by the great influence that General Bonin has, and may further obtain over his Countrymen, and from the close connection of these Prussian Troops with Schleswig Holstein and Baden Forces, with whom they have been acting for so long a time.

General Bonin, to judge by his conduct, appears to consider himself solely a Schleswig Holstein Officer, and to be no longer in allegiance to Prussia; he has acquired great influence within the Duchies, and he possesses completely the confidence of Mr. Olshausen and the Republican party there. It has excited the surprise of many persons that this officer has not been recalled by the Prussian Government, although, from his acts since he has been in command of the Schleswig Holstein Forces, I fear he would not obey an order for his recall if one were issued. I have been informed that at his suggestion the Government of the Duchies have within the last few days taken a Baden Regiment, serving with the Confederate Army, into their pay, and this Corps is now actually embodied with the Schleswig Holstein Troops under General Bonin's orders.

Should even the Prussian Troops under General Prittwitz be disposed to follow the commands of their Chief, and attempt to carry into effect the Measures which may be agreed upon at the conferences now going on in Berlin,[43] I think it at least, possible, that a conflict would ensue between them and some of the divisions of the large army now assembled in the Duchies; for a republican spirit prevails to a considerable extent among them.

I have on more than one occasion ventured to submit for Your Lordship's consideration, my conviction that the pending War in the Duchies can only be brought to a satisfactory conclusion by the mediating powers dictating and enforcing the conditions of such a peace as they may deem equitable and just for Denmark and the Duchies. It is true that the appearance of a Russian Fleet in the Baltic at this moment, when the Public mind in Germany is very much incensed against Russia, must greatly embarrass the free action of the Prussian Government, which, it is believed, is at this moment well

[43] Formal negotiations started on 4 June 1849 in the house of the British envoy, the Earl of Westmorland.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

inclined to a fair and amicable arrangement of this ruinous contest. An armed intervention on the part of Great Britain would be looked upon with less jealousy and suspicion, than one by any other power, and it would be less obnoxious even to the Republican party; a small Swedish Force might prove a useful auxiliary.

It is confidently reported that the Russian Squadron would leave Reval on the 6th Inst., and may be hourly expected to appear off Copenhagen and the Schleswig Holstein Coast.

FO 33/119: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 82, Hamburg, 31 August 1849

Effects of Hamburg's occupation by Prussian troops and the decision of the Bürgerschaft of Hamburg to join the Erfurt Union; policy of the Senate towards the new constitution's need for internal reform

The occupation of this State by Prussian Troops and the decision of the Burgerschaft, which I had the honor to announce to Your Lordship in my despatch No 81 of the 28th instant, have excited the greatest alarm and discontent amongst a very considerable portion of the Inhabitants of this City.[44] Indeed, I may say, amongst all except those more or less dependant upon the Senate, or, who, from having taken a part in opposition to the proposed changes, entertain fears for their persons and property from the excesses of the populace.

I have since my return to this City used my best efforts to learn the opinions of sensible and impartial Individuals, as to the political condition and relations of this State, connected with the effects likely to follow from the Prussian occupation, and the adhesion of Hamburg to the Prussian Confederation above alluded to, and I have now the honor to transmit to Your Lordship the conclusions resulting from those enquiries, and which, with my own opinion at the present moment, coincide entirely with the sentiments I have at different times ventured to express to Your Lordship.

These two measures are directed solely against the new Constitution for Hamburg,[45] which the Senate could not have avoided to put into operation from the 1st September next, without well founded doubt

[44] On 13 August 1849 a Prussian battalion entered Hamburg. Hamburg was subsequently occupied by some 8,000 soldiers until the end of 1850. On 27 August the Hamburg *Bürgerschaft* ratified the decision already taken by the Hamburg Senate on 14 August that Hamburg should join the Erfurt Union.

[45] The constitution was completed by the constituent assembly on 11 July and passed on to the Senate with the request that elections be held for a new democratic *Bürgerschaft*. The main points of the constitution, which never came into force, were the election of a council (*Senat*) for a fixed period of time, the separation of judiciary and administration, the separation of state and church, and a comprehensive catalogue of basic rights.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

being cast upon the sincerity of their intentions. To this Constitution, it is well known, the Senate and their adherents have all along been greatly averse, as once in operation it would deprive them of the emoluments of office, and the right of governing the State of Hamburg almost without responsibility.

The new Constitution, as I had the honor of mentioning to Your Lordship in my despatch No 65 of the 3rd instant, on transmitting a copy of the same, was framed by the Constituent Assembly after due and calm deliberation. The conduct of its members, during the time they have met, has been marked by the greatest regularity and propriety, but in proportion to the order and in dignity of their proceedings, have the animosity and jealousy of the Senate and its adherents towards them increased. The return of the Prussian Troops from Schleswig afforded an opportunity for a manifestation of these feelings which was not neglected. It was very well known to every one in Hamburg, that the armistice between Prussia and Denmark,[46] and the affair at Friedericia,[47] which was attributed by the lower classes to 'Prussian treachery', had made the Prussian Troops very unpopular here, and this dislike was cherished by many persons connected with the Senate; and, although it was also known that the appearance of any of those Troops in Hamburg would be the signal for some demonstration of popular ill-feeling, not a step was taken by the Hamburg Authorities to control or check it. The consequences of this culpable negligence were the attacks on the Prussian batallion,[48] and the insults committed against it by the Mob, and these were immediately seized upon as a pretext for oppressively quartering a whole Prussian corps d'Armée upon the Inhabitants of the City, to the joy of the Enemies to the new constitution and the Constituent Assembly; and, although the Senate and their party have continued to protest their innocence of any previously arranged plan with such tendency, they do not conceal their satisfaction, that so lamentable an occurrence has, by affording an excuse for the presence of so large a Prussian Force in the Town, enabled them to succeed in the opposition they had in view. The first proceeding of the Senate after this, was to send Mr. Syndicus Banks to Berlin, to declare their desire to negociate with Prussia as to Hamburg joining the Prussian Plan for a confederation, subject to the approval of the Burgerschaft, and the matter was brought before that body with all possible speed, in

[46] Cf. n. 107 in Frankfurt section.

[47] Defeat of the Schleswig-Holstein troops fighting against Denmark at Fortress Fredericia on 6 July 1849.

[48] The events occurred on 13 August when a Prussian battalion appeared unannounced at the gates of Hamburg.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

order that they should sanction the measure before the much dreaded 1st of September. The Burgerschaft was called together on the 27th Instant, and every kind of influence was used by the Senate and its adherents, to obtain the votes of persons entitled to appear in it. The Senate brought forward its proposition which was accepted by a large Majority, and in this precipitate manner the Citizens of Hamburg were transferred to a kind of Suzerain, Prussia, and the rights of 180,000 Inhabitants were thus voted away by a few Individuals for, comparatively speaking, to promote their own Individual Interests, and thus, in this instance shewing, if further proof were wanted, the necessity of reforming the old Constitution of Hamburg. Were the State of Hamburg to be canvassed for a decision on this subject, by universal, or even household suffrage, the result would be, that a Majority, in the proportion of five to one, would be opposed to the measure. Upon no question of importance during the last Twenty five years have the Senate and Citizens of Hamburg evinced a greater degree of jealousy, than the one of a junction, either direct or indirect, with Prussia. Even the great Fire here Seven Years ago,[49] was not considered so great a calamity, as the occupation of Hamburg by Prussian Troops. But on these late occasions many of those who have been all along most decidedly opposed to Prussia, including among them many of the Senate, not only voted for the Union, but employed every exertion to obtain the votes of other for it, and the cry of the more eager partizans of the Senate has been, 'for God's sake let us carry the proposal of the Senate through, let us have a junction with Prussia – we shall thereby obtain the right to require the assistance of Prussia, and we, with that, will put down that democratic Assembly,' (meaning the Constituent Assembly) all the 'clubs, and the democratic Press, and restore order to the State.' 'Restoring order' in their sense must mean, allowing of no Reform, and maintaining all the abuses in the Government which are at present so manifest, arising from the Government in its present form, and this, I am led to believe, is the opinion of the great majority of the Commercial body of Hamburg, who do not dread the removal of existing abuses. The only means to restore order and contentment in Hamburg, is to induce confidence in her institutions, by making them in accordance with the wishes of the well disposed citizen. There is scarcely a State in Germany into which important reforms have not been introduced, and the people of Hamburg will not submit to be denied what is granted to all other States around them.

One hope still remains for the well wisher of order and the independence of the State, it is, that the King of Prussia, who has

[49] Cf. n. 28 in this section.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

lately granted a liberal Constitution to his people,[50] will not incur the odium of the Citizens of this important Commercial State; but that He will insist on reforms being made here, in spite of the efforts of a small party who have their own Interest solely in view.

I called upon my Prussian Colleague[51] yesterday, and whilst alluding cursorily to the Prussian force in Hamburg, He remarked that a considerable part of those troops would soon retire from here, and commence to depart tomorrow; 'I do not believe more than 3000 will remain', he added, 'and their stay is at the desire of the Senate.' Upon my saying, 'is it really the wish of the Senate that they should remain,' he replied significantly, 'they certainly do not object to their remaining.'

FO 33/119: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 96, Flensburg, 22 September 1849

Opposition to administrative commission for Schleswig; Prussia's conduct towards the governorship

The administrative Commission for Schleswig have now been in activity, as a Governing authority, since the 25th Ultimo, and their measures towards establishing a regular Government have generally speaking been successful.[52]

Although many Functionaries of this Duchy have come openly forward with declarations adverse to the newly established Commission still, with some exceptions, their Orders have been complied with, and the energy displayed by my Colleagues in putting down any opposition to the removal of Magistrates and other decidedly factions, and particularly the measures of Count Eulenburg at Husum,[53] have served to remind the subordinate Authorities that they cannot with impunity defy the Government now established over them.

This unwilling compliance with, or refusal to obey the orders of the Commission, has been manifested chiefly to the South of the

[50] Cf. n. 110 in Prussia section.

[51] Karl von Kamptz.

[52] In accordance with the conditions of the armistice of 10 July 1849 governmental power in Schleswig was transferred to the *Landeskommission* in Flensburg. This consisted of one Prussian commissioner (Eulenburg), and one Danish (Tillisch) and took office on 25 August 1849. A British arbitrator (Hodges) was attached to the administrative commission to settle any differences of opinion. The commission existed until 13 July 1850.

[53] On 6 September 1849 the German mayor of Husum was deposed and replaced by a Danish official from Friedrichsstadt. In the face of resistance from the population and the magistrate, the regional administration reacted by billeting troops in the town and by threatening to impose a special tax.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Demarcation line,[54] and much agitation has prevailed in places where factions Leaders are in office, which has been fomented on all sides by the Press, by every species of misrepresentation and falsehood; but, however, nothing like force has been employed to resist the orders of the Government, and I consider, notwithstanding all this opposition, that the Commission is slowly gaining ground in the good opinion of the people of the Duchy, and that a continuation of the moderate forbearance, and firmness when required, employed by my Colleagues, with the support indispensably requisite of the parties to the Convention, but particularly the faithful and prompt execution by Prussia of her engagements, may at length re-establish peace and order throughout all Schleswig.

But on the Prussian Government, I venture to repeat to Your Lordship, now mainly depends the successful termination of the labours of the Commission, and as to her cordial support many doubts prevail, which give rise to the great apprehensions of a large party in both Duchies, who desire tranquillity and mild Government, and, on the other hand, encourage the numerous and active enemies to any settlement, who impede every movement towards a satisfactory peace by all the means in their power.

The forbearance shewn by the Prussian Government to the Statthalterschaft[55] is indeed truly astonishing, for, notwithstanding that body has opposed every conciliatory endeavour on the part of Prussia to obtain even some sort of recognition of the Administrative Commission by the Holstein Leaders, the steps taken by the Prussian Government to shew them and the Public, that Prussia is disposed to do what is incumbent on her in fulfilment of her obligations under the Convention, are of a most reluctant nature. My views in this respect are supported, in addition to other circumstances, by the fact that although Prussia engaged to furnish 6,000 men to occupy the part South of the Demarcation Line, She a few days after the Installation of the Commission had reduced her force there, to 2,700 men, and this at a moment when the new Government, entering on its functions, had not had the least opportunity of obtaining any of the sympathies of the Schleswig people in its favor, and required every sort of physical

[54] In accordance with the armistice of 10 July 1849 (cf. n. 107 in Frankfurt section) Schleswig was divided between Flensburg and Tonder.

[55] Since 1834 the *Statthalterschaft* (governorship) had existed as a general provincial government for the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. On 26 March 1849 it was installed as organ of government for the duchies by the Central Power at Frankfurt. The armistice of 10 July 1849 restricted the power of the governorship to Holstein. The *Statthalterschaft*, however, regarded itself (letter to the governments of the German states of 18 July 1849) as the legitimate government of the duchies until a definitive peace was concluded with Denmark and considered that the armistice was not legally binding.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and moral support, opposed as it was, and is, on all sides by the Statthalterschaft, who declare that they are de jure the Government of Schleswig, and suggest every sort of obstruction to our proceedings, openly, and by means of their secret Emissaries dispersed throughout the Country.

The Statthalterschaft and the Holstein party, even go so far as to affirm that Prussia will not be harsh towards them, and I am assured, from a source on which I place much reliance, that they have declared that the President Bonin had given them to understand that they would have nothing to dread from Prussia, and that all she would do, in case the Commission could not go on governing under the Convention, would be to withdraw her Troops from Schleswig, and leave the Statthalterschaft and the Army in Holstein to carry on a contest with Denmark alone, which they probably could do; for that army amounts to 23,000 men, well armed and disciplined, although General Bonin and the other Prussian Officers might be withdrawn, it is asserted that there are other officers in readiness to fill their places. Unfortunately, should even these reports as to the remarks of President Bonin be devoid of truth, they assume, owing to the conduct of Prussia, all the Colour of truth, and, producing like effects, operate perniciously as well on the friend as on the enemy to the Commission; nevertheless, in spite of such adverse circumstances, the Government, as I have before mentioned, is proceeding steadily on its course, and one striking proof in its favor is the fact, that no doubt is entertained that the amount of Taxes received, or to be received, by the 1st of October next, will be sufficient to satisfy all demands on the Commission, in respect of payments to official servants &. &. for the Quarter then terminating.

I now beg leave to offer a few further remarks to Your Lordship, connected with the observations I have above submitted, and as affording some materials for a closer insight into the state of affairs likely to have influence on the fate of this Duchy, and the prospects of a happy termination of the labours of the Administrative Commission.

It appears to me, My Lord, that the Prussian Government is very unwilling to push matters to extremities with the Statthalterschaft, and come to a rupture with the popular party in Holstein, not from any sympathy with their democratic wishes, but solely from a desire to obtain, or preserve as much influence as possible in the Duchies, and this opinion daily obtaining more belief amongst the Public, in addition to her inconveniences, renders the false position in which Count Eulenburg is placed visible enough; for, although strongly inclined to favor the Holstein party, Count Eulenburg, with his conciliatory and honorable character, feels that he ought to be

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

well supported by his Government to enable him properly to assist in the work of the Commission; and this consciousness, coupled with the urgency of the Danish Commissioner for the fulfilment by Prussia of her share in the Convention, makes my Prussian Colleague's task a very painful one. On the other side Mr Tillisch, although well disposed, is not conciliatory in his manners and views, and displays of ill-feeling arise between those Gentlemen as to administrative matters, which I fear may increase, and thus personal antipathies add to the obstacles in the way of the Government.

I have done, and shall continue to do, all that I possibly can to promote a good understanding between my two Colleagues, but I keep aloof, as much as is possible, from their Administrative proceedings, and limit myself strictly to my duties as arbiter.

In conclusion, I venture again to express to Your Lordship as my conviction, that provided the Contracting parties to the Convention promptly and honourably fulfil their engagements under it, the Commission will be enabled to complete their task temperately and successfully, and thus aid in preparing the way for a durable peace.

FO 33/120: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 144, Flensburg, 31 December 1849

Request for Hodges to remain at Flensburg; position of administrative commission for Schleswig; remarks on policy of Prussian government; secret countenance by Prussian troops of military resistance

The Administrative Commission[56] having no proper support in the Southern part of this Duchy, desist from attempts to enforce their Authority there, and are forced to remain in comparative inactivity with respect to their Administration in that part. I have therefore suggested to my Colleagues the inutility of my remaining at Flensburg, as should differences arise between them requiring my decision, the cases might, with little delay or inconvenience, be forwarded to me, as arbiter, to Hamburg. The Danish Commissioner[57] has expressed himself strongly against my leaving this place, and implored me to remain; as he declared that my departure would operate most prejudicially in respect to the maintenance of that portion of authority which the Commission possesses, and would afford grounds for public rumours calculated to increase the fears and anxiety of the well-disposed portion of the Schleswig people. Count Eulenburg also stated to me that he considered it very desirable that I should not leave

[56] Cf. n. 52 in this section.
[57] Frederik Ferdinand Tillisch.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

this Town, at least until some decisive measure should be agreed on by the Provisional Central[58] power at Frankfort with respect to the Statthalterschaft,[59] and, in consequence of these representations, I have resolved to remain here for the present, unless I receive Instructions from Your Lordship to the contrary.

In reference to Lord Westmorland's despatch to Your Lordship, No 345 of the 6th of this month, and the opinions of Mr d'Usedom after his return to Berlin from his late Mission to these Duchies, therein mentioned, they are only such as were to be expected from him. Mr. d'Usedom says that he is, 'persuaded the Southern part of Schleswig will not submit to the present Commission of Government established in Flensburg' &c. I will venture to go farther than Mr d'Usedom and add, that such has been the demoralizing effect of the presence of the Prussian troops on the peaceable and well disposed Inhabitants of the Southern part of this Duchy, by proving to them that they have no chance of any assistance, in any act of theirs contrary to the wishes of the Statthalterschaft, that I believe now that nothing but military rule will, or can, bring that part of the Duchy under any other authority than that of the present Government at Kiel, or one like it, pursuing the same insurrectionary policy.

Had Prussia from the commencement of the Armistice compelled her Troops to act with good faith, and in such a spirit of discipline as the Swedish Troops have shown in the North of this Duchy,[60] the whole of Schleswig would have been brought without violence, or bloodshed, into a state of comparative tranquillity, and of submission to the administrative Commission.

In regard to the assurances of the Prussian Cabinet, as referred to in the above mentioned despatch from Lord Westmorland, I respectfully beg leave to adhere to the opinions which I expressed to Your Lordship in my despatches No 111 and No 118 of the 5th and 25th of October last, and to repeat my conviction, that the policy of Prussia has all along been to encourage and establish such a spirit of resistance to the authority of the Administrative Commission, and thereby against Denmark, as to make it appear manifest, during the negociations for Peace, that the people of the Southern part of the Duchy were so bent upon its being united with Holstein, that it would be impossible to avoid allowing such a junction to be made.

As respects the assurances of Baron Schleinitz and Mr d'Usedom to Lord Westmorland, that the Prussian Government will do all in

[58] Cf. n. 137 in Prussia section.

[59] Cf. n. 55 in this section.

[60] According to the armistice of 10 July 1849 (cf. n. 107 in Frankfurt section) Swedish–Norwegian troops were stationed in North Schleswig.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

their power to support the Commission of Government, short of authorizing any military acts against the Schleswig Holstein army, I have only to refer Your Lordship to the Inclosures in my despatch No 138, which show the countenance afforded to the Schleswig rabble by the Troops under General Hahn's immediate command, in the case of the Postmaster Bandholz, who was appointed by the administrative Commission; the occurrences connected therewith have taken place since those assurances were given to His Lordship.[61]

FO 33/124: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 4, Flensburg, 14 January 1850

Resistance in Angeln district; intention of Holstein troops to invade Schleswig; Prussia's policy dangerous

In my despatch No 3 I had the honor to inform Your Lordship of the serious opposition that two small Detachments of Swedish Troops had met with on proceeding into the Angeln District to enforce the payment of Taxes, and of their being obliged by an assemblage of Peasants to return without executing their orders.[62] This occurrence has caused some chagrin to the Swedish General Malmborg, and he proceeded three days ago to Schleswig, to try to prevail upon General Hahn to send a few companies of Infantry, and a Detachment of Hussars, up to the Line of Demarcation in Angeln,[63] as the populace that lately opposed the Swedish Troops had come over the Line from the South. To do this, it appears, the Prussian General has consented, and General Malmborg, not wishing to weaken the Garrison of Flensburg at the present Moment, has moved a Swedish Batallion, 600 strong, from Apenrade, which will march into Angeln tomorrow, or next day to support any detachment he may send there.

Anxious as I have always been to see an energetic Government of this Duchy, yet I have ever, when asked for my opinion, been opposed to the bringing of the Swedish Troops into immediate conflict with the Inhabitants adjacent to the Demarcation Line in the Southern part of the Duchy, knowing that they would meet with no kind of support from General Hahn's contingent, but that, on the contrary, any reverse that they might meet with would be seen with great satisfaction by the

[61] Shortly after arriving in Schleswig on 5 December 1849 Bandholz – who had replaced a supporter of the *Statthalterschaft* as postmaster – was attacked in the post office, a building next door to the residence of General Hahn. On 8 December he returned to Kiel.

[62] The incident involving Swedish troops, who were acting in the name of the administrative commission for Schleswig, took place during the night of 6–7 January 1850.

[63] Cf. n. 54 in this section.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Prussian Troops. However, although in regard to such questions, and others relative to administrative measures I have hitherto restricted myself entirely to my duties as arbiter,[64] a crisis is fast approaching which may compel me in some degree to deviate from the rule I have thus laid down for my guidance. On General Malmborg's recent visit to Schleswig, General Hahn told him, that he was fully convinced that a Portion of the Schleswig Holstein army would debouch on the 17th, or 19th of this month, from two points, Kiel and Rendsburg, upon Witten See, and proceed thence by Misunde into Angeln, which district is for the most part south of the Demarcation Line, and but a few English Miles from this Town, but General Hahn added, that this incursion of the Holstein Troops would be disavowed by the Statthalterschaft.[65] I am aware that many of the Inhabitants of this Town are preparing for such an event and it was only a few nights since, that several Waggons laden with Plate and valuable property were sent from here to Schleswig, the owners, being of what is called the German party, fearing, in case the Holsteiners cross the Eyder, the Danes may move a portion of their Force from Alsen, and take possession of Flensburg and its Neighbourhood. The Danish Minister at Hamburg,[66] has also written to acquaint Mr Tillisch of what he believes to be the intentions of the Holstein Troops; and of their having received orders to march from Kiel and Rendsburg on the 16th Instant.

Yet with all these circumstances, and although these statements come from quarters worthy of much considerations I can scarcely believe in the truth of such reports. Should the Holstein Troops enter this Duchy, they must do so with the cognizance, if not with the sanction of Prussia, for on General Malmborg asking General Hahn, what he intended to do in case of such an invasion, the Prussian General replied, 'I shall not interfere with their advance, I shall remain here for the present, and afterwards I shall move more to the South, where I can recross the Eyder by avoiding Rendsburg, and await orders from my Government.'

But should the Holsteiners not advance as expected, there are great dangers in other respects, for in the ranks of the Holstein army there exists a spirit of discontent and insubordination, and this is increasing as money is becoming scarce both at Kiel and Rendsburg, and, I am informed that it was with some difficulty that funds were found to enable the Stathalterschaft to pay the Army to the 31st of last month. The Holstein Troops are imbued with the feelings of the worse classes

[64] Hodges was a member of the administrative commission for Schleswig.
[65] Cf. n. 55 in this section.
[66] Johan Carl Dirckinck Friherre of Holmfeld.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

of the Inhabitants of the Duchies, and there are at this moment 500 of these Troops, on furlough, in the Northern part of this Duchy, and 60 of them in this Town; and all these could be armed by the disaffected portion of the Inhabitants in a few hours. The Southern part of this Duchy occupied by the Prussian contingent, is overrun by the worst characters from Hamburg, Kiel, Altona, and the Towns near the line of the Kiel and Rendsburg Rail roads to Altona, whilst a great portion of the Inhabitants of the Town districts there, have become more violent in their resistance to a separation of the Duchies, since they have found to what extent the sympathy of the Prussian Troops will go, and they now load my Prussian Colleague[67] here with all sorts of abuse, in which I regret to hear that Prussian Officers of rank and Station join.

To give Your Lordship an idea of the spirit and tone of General Hahn's communications to this Commission, I beg leave to transmit two translations of the recent letters from that officer, that were given to me by Mr Tillisch.[68]

It is not for me to presume to criticise the acts of any Government in amicable relations with Her Majesty's Government, nor those of a Government for which I entertain so high a respect as I do for that of Prussia; but in the very interests of that Government I must lament the line of conduct that Government has thought proper to pursue throughout this Schleswig Holstein question; and more especially since the 10th of July last.[69] If that course has been adopted with the view of obtaining popularity in Germany, I fear Prussia will find herself grievously disappointed, nor can such conduct raise her in the estimation of Foreign Powers. She is encouraging Political feelings in these Duchies, in my opinion, most dangerous to her own existence, and which, I fear, may at no very distant day force her to take similar measures to those she lately employed against the Revolutionary party in Baden.[70]

But although I have stated to Your Lordship, that I do not believe that the Holstein Troops will now advance, yet, considering the excited state in which those Troops now are, and the violent opinions entertained by a part of the population of the two Duchies, it is very possible that a revolt of the Inhabitants of the Southern part of this Duchy, aided by Schleswig Holstein Soldiers, may take place at an

[67] Botho Heinrich Graf von Eulenburg.

[68] Enclosures: Copies of two letters of General Hahn to the administrative commission for Schleswig, dated 8 January 1850.

[69] For the armistice of 10 July 1849 cf. n. 107 in Frankfurt section.

[70] During the Prussian military intervention in Baden of June and July 1849 the members of the Baden revolutionary government were vigorously persecuted and in many instances summarily executed.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

early day, and such an outbreak, coupled with the refusal of General Hahn to oppose it, may cause the advance of a Danish Force from Alsen, and Fünen, in support of 3,800 Swedes, and the Administrative Commission.

In case the Holstein Troops advance, it is very doubtful whether this Town can, or will be defended, as its position for defence is decidedly a bad one. The Danish Force at Alsen amounts, it is said, to 10 Batallions of Infantry, 2 Squadrons of Cavalry, and four Batteries of Field Artillery; but it could not be removed to any great distance from that Island, probably not further than the heights of Duppel. The Swedish Troops would therefore be obliged to retire upon Hadersleben, whither I presume the Commission would have to accompany them, and leave this wealthy and ill fated Town to the mercy of the Holstein Army.

Under the circumstances above mentioned, I have to Request Your Lordship's Instructions for my guidance.

FO 33/125: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 43, Flensburg, 4 April 1850

State of Schleswig-Holstein affairs; proceedings of the governorship; position of administrative commission; effects of Prussian policies on a possible settlement

[. . .] I have just received from my Danish Colleague, Mr. Tillisch, a letter with 7 Inclosures,[71] which I have the honor to forward to Your Lordship, relating to the distressing effects produced in this Duchy by the proceedings of the Statthalterschaft,[72] the illegal and violent measures of their Emissaries, the secret countenance given to them by the Prussian Troops, and to the motives assigned by Mr. Tillisch therein for the concentration of those Troops, and its consequences, and finally, to the declaration of General Malmborg, that if the Prussian Troops do not do their duty, he must soon retire from this Town to a better military position.

I have so often brought before Your Lordship's notice the painful and humiliating position in which the Administrative Commission[73] is placed, that it will be unnecessary for me to add much to the statements contained in Mr. Tillisch's letter. It must however be evident to every observer of the events passing here, that it is quite impossible that this

[71] Enclosures: Letter of Tillisch to Hodges, Flensburg, 2 April 1850 and copies of seven documents originating from the *Statthalterschaft*, dated 12, 13, 18, 27, 28, 29, and 30 March 1850.

[72] Cf. n. 55 in this section.

[73] Cf. n. 52 in this section.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Duchy can continue in its present political State during many weeks longer.

The audacious and menacing attitude of the Statthalterschaft and their partisans is in itself a decisive indication that disastrous events are approaching.

That the Prussian Government should deny all participation in the late acts of the Statthalterschaft in the South of Schleswig is but natural, but I would beg to request Your Lordship's attention to the cause and effects of the concentration of the Prussian Troops; by their withdrawal from the positions they had heretofore occupied, they have removed all hindrance to the incursions of the Schleswig Holstein Employés into the South of this Duchy and their fraudulent collection of Imposts and Taxes there.

Your Lordship has received with indulgence the free and frank expressions of my opinions, at various times, on the important matters relating to these Duchies, so that I am thereby induced to make some further remarks on the subject. In my Despatch, No 113 of the 9th October last, I ventured to assert that the arrangement of the question as to the Duchies, could never be brought about but by the intervention of the Great Powers; and I am still of opinion that the continuance by Prussia of her struggling efforts to obtain that political position which she wishes to assume in Germany, must render it impossible for her to act with decision and good faith in the pending question; she may temporise with the spirit of republicanism in the Duchies, in order to see what turn affairs may take in Germany; but in my opinion the Prussian Government cannot act boldly against the Schleswig Holstein party; for I believe that there exists in Prussia itself, a party more powerful and united than that of the Government, but that has much influence on its proceedings, and is opposed to any proper settlement of the question, as it is connected in its wishes with the discontented of the other countries of Europe.

Baron Schleinitz in his despatches has spoken of the sound political feeling that exists in the Duchies, and I admit that the Statthalterschaft, Count Reventlow, and Mr. Beseler, with most of the Nobility and many landed proprietors of Holstein, are opposed to Republican Institutions; and many of these would now willingly enter into direct negotiations with Denmark, but they are opposed by the numerous Lawyers, professors, students, and many of the Clergy of both Duchies, and many of the middle classes of Holstein, who, adverse to any connection with Denmark, would willingly get rid of the Statthalterschaft, General Bonin, and the Prussian Officers, and establish a Government in accordance with their own democratic views. Looking therefore at the inability of the Prussian Government, and the moderate party in the Duchies to effect a settlement of the

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

contest, I continue firmly to believe, that a demonstration on the part of the Great powers is the only means by which Peace and order can be restored to these parts.

FO 33/125: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 74, Flensburg, 19 June 1850

Remarks on attempts to disparage Hodges as member of the administrative commission for Schleswig

As Reports have reached me from persons in whom I can place implicit confidence, that systematic attempts are made to disparage me in my official Position here, I trust Your Lordship will excuse me for bringing the subject before your notice. I have reason to believe that many of the Prussian Authorities, from Baron Schleinitz downwards, are using strenuous efforts to lower me in public estimation, and to make it appear that I alone am responsible for the difficulties that have been met with as to the execution of the Duties of the Administrative Commission.[74] It has been their object to make it appear that this Commission has been presided over by the British Commissioner; that from him alone emanated all the acts of the Commission; that he is entirely of Danish sympathies and strongly prejudiced against German Nationality. I know it to be a fact, that Mr d'Usedom said lately to a member of the Erfurt Parliament: 'There never was a more unfortunate choice than the appointment of Colonel Hodges. How could any one expect him to conduct so delicate a negotiation? Yes, for Alexandria, or Servia, where strong language and brusqueness are the chief requisites he may do very well, but not for a negotiation requiring the utmost delicacy and tact, and an intimate knowledge of the usages of diplomacy.' And this member of the Erfurt Parliament, who has lately returned to Hamburg, and who states that he is on the most intimate terms with Mr d'Usedom, said to my Informant, 'as for harmonizing with his (Colonel Hodges') Colleagues, I know for a fact that you are mistaken – Oh yes, with Mr Tillisch very likely but not with Count Eulenburg – Count Eulenburg has written a dozen times that he could not get on with Colonel Hodges, and I know that he has constantly expressed his regret at his appointment.' I also have reasons for believing that Syndicus Banks has likewise written from Berlin in this sense.

I venture to assure Your Lordship that I should not obtrude a Matter of this personal nature on Your Lordship's notice, did I not consider, these attempts to lower me in public estimation generally, might be

[74] For the administrative commission for Schleswig cf. n. 52 in this section.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

deemed as in some measure directed against the Government which I have the honor to represent. In conclusion, I can only add that I have no prejudices in favor of Denmark or Germany, nor any other ambition than faithfully to discharge the duties entrusted to me, to the satisfaction of Your Lordship and Her Majesty's Government.

FO 33/125: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 81, Flensburg, 10 July 1850

Reaction to peace between Prussia and Denmark; attempts of governorship to bring on a general war

[. . .] The news of the conclusion of Peace[75] between Prussia and Denmark has caused the greatest excitement in the Duchies. In Holstein the most active and extensive exertions are being made for the renewal of hostilities. All those of the Holstein Army out on furlough have been ordered to join the Regiments, and trustworthy non-commissioned officers, and old soldiers disguised as peasants, have been sent into all parts of this Duchy for the purpose of obtaining recruits, and they have succeeded in so doing to a considerable extent. I am informed that the greater part of the Kiel Students have repaired to Rendsburg where they have been armed and equipped. Within the last 10 days all corn and provisions destined for Schleswig by way of Rendsburg, have been detained there, for the use of the Garrison and paid for by the Authorities.

The enclosed copy and translation of a Proclamation from the Statthalterschaft[76] to the Schleswig Holsteiners, will shew Your Lordship that without further reserve, they are determined at all risks to oppose the entrance of the Danish Army into the Continent of this Duchy, and the copy and translation of a proclamation from the Commander in Chief[77] of the Schleswig Holstein Army, also enclosed, shew his desire to obtain officers from every part of Germany, to take service in that Army.

The Schleswig Holsteiners stoutly declare that the Peace between Denmark and Prussia is a separate Act of the Crown of Prussia, and not that of the people of Prussia, or according to their wishes.

I further enclose copy and translation of Baron Schleinitz's letter to the Statthalterschaft, on officially communicating to them the Treaty of Peace; it has been the subject of much comment here, and is generally considered as holding out more encouragement

[75] Peace of Berlin of 2 July 1850; cf. n. 176 in Prussia section.
[76] Cf. n. 55 in this section.
[77] Proclamation by Karl Wilhelm von Willisen, 8 July 1850.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

to the Statthalterschaft and the Insurrectionary Army, than it was thought would be given them by Prussia after she had made Peace.

What effect the Protocol signed at London on the 4th instant and the annex may have upon the Statthalterschaft I cannot at present judge.[78] Lord Westmorland writes to me in a private letter, that Mr Liliencron, the Schleswig Holstein Agent at Berlin, states that the Holstein party will carry on the War 'à outrance',[79] and I entirely agree in the opinion of that gentleman, that they will not agree to any peace, or arrangement, that would tend to the separation of the two Duchies; unless compelled to do so by the active intervention of the Great Powers. It is quite clear that the Statthalterschaft rely on the sympathy and support of the Revolutionary party throughout Germany, and, they are much encouraged in their hopes by the want of Union amongst the different Governments of Germany. So long as the Schleswig Holstein Army has to contend alone against Denmark, it has many chances in its favor, whilst one chief object of the Statthalterschaft and their party is to do all they can to bring on a general War, which they conceive would further aid their obtaining the great object of their Revolution. On the whole, My Lord, I think it my duty to acquaint Your Lordship that I consider the present state of these Duchies to be one pregnant with evil; and the contest which seems so likely to take place must be awfully sanguinary.

I have endeavoured since the commencement of my mission here, throughout my official correspondence with Your Lordship, to keep you accurately informed, according to the best of my judgement, of the State of public opinion and of passing events in relation to these Duchies, and I shall heartily rejoice to find that the apprehensions I have expressed in respect to them, may prove erroneous or unfounded.[80]

[78] On 4 July 1850 the Great Powers Russia, Britain, and France, as well as Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, reached agreement in the First London Protocol (officially dated 2 August 1850), which confirmed Denmark's integrity in its existing form, i.e. including Schleswig and Holstein. King Frederik VII, who was childless, was permitted to arrange the succession in such a way that the integrity of the entire Danish state would be preserved. Austria subscribed to the First London Protocol on 23 August 1850; Prussia initially refused to sign it.

[79] French: excessively.

[80] Enclosures (Copy and translation): Proclamation from the *Statthalterschaft*, 8 July 1850; Proclamation from the commander-in-chief for the Schleswig-Holstein army, 8 July 1850; Baron Schleinitz's letter to the *Statthalterschaft*, 6 July 1850.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

FO 33/126: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 124, Hamburg, 24 September 1850

State of political affairs and public feeling in the Duchy of Holstein; position of the democratic party and its relationship with the governorship; military preparations for a winter campaign

I have received a confidential Report from a very intelligent and trustworthy source, relating to the existing state of political affairs in the Duchy of Holstein, of which the following is the purport:

In Gluckstadt, Itzehoe, the rural districts about Rendsburg, and on the Holstein Canal, an earnest desire for Peace prevails; in the rural districts this desire is expressed more loudly, whilst principally in Kiel and Rendsburg, the wish for War is entertained only by those who desire advantage from its continuance. But the parties desirous of Peace are aware that it can only be obtained, by relinquishing in great part the Schleswig Holstein pretensions of 1848, the removal of the Statthalterschaft,[81] the present governing Authorities, and the Augustenburg party;[82] who, they also consider, have misapplied the resources of the Country; the present state of affairs has no hold on public opinion generally, and any further misfortune would overthrow it. All the democratic party is decidedly opposed to the present governing authorities. The Democrats ascribe to these authorities, all the ill success of the War; even the late misfortune at Missunde[83] is attributed to them by considerable numbers, owing to their urging General Willisen to the attack there. One section of the Democratic party is not indisposed to Danish authority; the past and present proceedings of the Holstein Government against certain democrats, and minor democratic journals and periodicals, have increased the ill-feeling of this section against the Kiel Government.

But it is only this fraction of the democrats that is not disinclined to Denmark; for, owing to the persevering efforts and falsehoods of the German Press, the general dislike to Denmark is still kept alive; so that although public opinion in general is against the Statthalterschaft and their adherents yet, for Denmark, public opinion is still to be gained over.

The proceedings in the States have not tended to diminish the dissatisfaction with the Holstein Government, and the financial

[81] Cf. n. 55 in this section.

[82] Supporters of Christian August, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, who claimed the succession in Schleswig-Holstein if the (male) royal line in Denmark died out.

[83] On 12 September 1850 Schleswig-Holstein units unsuccessfully advanced against Danish troops in Missunde.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

measures of Mr. Francke are looked forward to with great anxiety.[84]

The Police of the Statthalterschaft has been lately employed in surveillance of the democratic clubs, and it is supposed that traces of connection with the Danish democrats have been discovered. But the Statthalterschaft have begun to be afraid of breaking with the democrats, and Mr. v Arnim has taken his leave, because his occupation was gone; and it is even desired that Mr. v Gagern's visit may terminate, as some of the discredit he is in (by the democrats) must fall upon the Statthalterschaft and their party.

In the Army great dissatisfaction prevails, particularly at the rejection of democratic volunteers; and the late attack on Missunde is much disproved of by the more intelligent among the troops; nor would the Army be more difficult to incline to the re-establishment of Danish authority than the other part of the population, although at present the feeling against Denmark, with which the military have been impressed, is still in full force. The inactivity to which the soldiers are compelled, and of late the inattention to their wants, and insufficient supplies of provisions, increase their dissatisfaction.

On the 17th and 18th instant, the left wing was reinforced by detachments sent from the Centre towards Fredrichstadt; but a great want of information prevails at the Holstein Head quarters, as to the movements and disposition of the Danish Forces.

Although expressions have been made use of in the States, implying that it was expected that the Campaign must soon end, yet, from the many preparations going on, it is evident that the Holsteiners are earnestly looking forward to a Winter campaign.

FO 33/126: George Floyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 154, Hamburg, 14 November 1850

Dissatisfaction of officers in Holstein army about imminent intervention by federal army; governorship resolved to resist federal troops

Since the announcement of the 'Inhibitorium'[85] to the Statthalters at Kiel followed as it has been by a Proclamation[86] of the King of Prussia

[84] Hodges is referring to the S*tatthalterschaft*'s plans to mint coins in order to combat its debts and to issue option certificates for a state loan.

[85] In accordance with the resolution of the Frankfurt Rump Diet of 25 October, the governorship (cf. n. 55 in this section) was required to regard the Eider as the line of demarcation and to cease all hostilities. At the same time the Rump Diet introduced preparatory measures for military intervention in Holstein. An application for this had been made to the re-opened Diet on 2 September in accordance with the Berlin Peace of 2 July 1850. Thus the Diet had de facto resolved to intervene if the governorship did not voluntarily cede its authority to the King of Denmark (as Duke of Holstein).

[86] Royal proclamation of 9 November 1850.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press

recalling all his subjects serving in the Armies of Foreign Countries considerable dissatisfaction and excitement have prevailed amongst most of the Officers in the Schleswig Holstein ranks and even some few of them have already retired from the Service. A young Prussian who was unknown to me, but who stated that he had been an Officer in the Prussian Army but had left it about 12 months since to join that of Schleswig Holstein called upon me a few days since to request my assistance to get him into some other Foreign Service, adding that his reasons for so doing were that he, and almost all the Prussian and other German Officers not natives of the Duchies considered there was nothing more to be done in the Duchies and were anxious to retire before they should be humiliated by being compelled to do so by Austrian Troops.

My Austrian Colleague[87] acquainted me yesterday that he knew it to be a fact that the Statthalterschaft were in negotiation with the Hungarian Officers who since the Hungarian revolt have been living in this Town and neighbourhood to enter the Schleswig Holstein service, although the Statthalters rejected those Officers when they applied for employment some months ago. Amongst them, I am told, there are many of merit and experience, and in the distressed situation in which they are I should not be surprised if they should take service in the Holstein Army. However, notwithstanding all the boasting of the Statthalters and their efforts for their cause I believe the greatest discontents and disunion prevail amongst them and those serving under them.

I have just heard from a good source that after some long and warm discussions the Statthalters and their party have resolved to resist the Austrian Execution-Troops that may enter Holstein by evacuating Kiel and shutting themselves up in and defending Rendsburg which is well provisioned and has been additionally strengthened by the erection of some detached forts on the North and West sides on the plan in part of the detached Forts around Paris [sic] whilst the greater part of the Army shall hold its present positions over against the Danish Army.

Some more German recruits have lately passed through Altona for Rendsburg but within the last few days none from either Prussia or Bavaria.

Great indignation prevails amongst the mass of the population of this City at the approaching intervention in Holstein and I should not be surprised were disturbances to take place on the passage of Austrian Troops through this City and Altona.

[87] Franz Graf Lützow von Drey-Lützow und Seedorf.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116305002368 Published online by Cambridge University Press